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II.—THE TORCH-RACE.

A COMMENTARY ON THE AGAMEMNON OF AISCHYLOS

VV. 324-326.¹

Τὸ σὸν γὰρ ἄνθος, παντέχνοῦ πυρὸς céléας,
θνητοῖσι κλέψας ὥπασεν·

* * *

τὰ δ' ἱερὰ νύκτωρ ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν τελεῖς;
νύκτωρ τὰ πολλά· σεμνότητ' ἔχει σκότος·

To-day athletic exercises are advocated for the most part for hygienic rather than for artistic, religious, or political reasons; that is, they are valued merely as a means for the promotion of health and the general development of the physique, in order that the growth of both mind and body may be symmetrical. The art of gymnastics as practiced among the ancient Greeks was in striking contrast with these our modern views and aims. For the object of Hellenic Gymnastics was partly purely artistic, and hence Gymnastic necessarily led to Agonistic; partly religious, and consequently the art was intimately connected with the Mythos and with popular beliefs and superstitions; partly political, and hence while it was for the present an index to the patriotic sentiments of the *νεολαία* and an evidence of noble and praiseworthy endeavor on their part, it also gave promise to the state of the future of a race of citizens distinguished for mental and physical power and moral force. Among the Hellenic contests or *ἀγῶνες*, in which the right to participate was conditioned by a highly developed and almost perfect physique, must be reckoned the Lampas or Torch-race. But whereas the gymnastic agon was professedly secular or political in its tendency, the Lampas, being so intimately connected with religious tradition and mythos, was

¹ τοιοῖδε τοί μοι λαμπαδηφόρων νόμοι
ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλον διαδοχαῖς πληρούμενοι
νικῇ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμῶν.

spiritual or religious. The Lampas or Torch-race is purely Hellenic in its origin, and can not be traced back to the Orient or to Egypt, as can so many features of Hellenic religion.¹

What was the torch-race? This question must suggest itself to every reader of the fire-signals of Aischylos, to every one, at least, who endeavors to understand his author thoroughly. The answers given by the exegetes to his natural curiosity on the subject only serve to create in him a feeling of perplexed dissatisfaction. This question, it is hoped, will be answered in all its bearings in the following pages.

The origin of the torch-race may be traced to the desire on the part of mankind to express their gratitude to Titan Prometheus by the institution of a festival in his honor which should illustrate in a characteristic and striking manner the way in which the human race became possessed of the civilizing element of fire.

For legends tell us that Prometheus, having stolen fire from heaven, concealed it in a reed and ran back to earth as swiftly as his heels could carry him, swinging the reed to and fro as he ran in order to keep alive the precious spark. It was in commemoration of this course of Prometheus from heaven to earth² that the popular festival of the torch-race was instituted, a simple but appropriate memorial-feast in honor of him, who, by his happy theft, had become the father of all civilization and the original institutor of the arts and sciences which beautify and ennoble human life, and which owe their existence to the moulding and purifying influence of fire.³ It must be admitted, however, that

¹ Gymnastic games were held, it is true, by the ancient Egyptians (Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, etc. II, p. 293), and Herodotos mentions a fire-festival celebrated in honor of Neith, especially at Saïs, but also in the rest of Egypt as well: ἐς Σάιν δὲ πόλιν ἐπεὶ συλλεχθῆωσι, τῆς θυσίης ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ λύχνα καίουσι πάντες πολλὰ ὑπαίθρια περὶ τὰ δώματα κύκλῳ . . . καὶ τῇ ὁρτῇ οὐνομα κέεται λυχνοκαίη. οἱ δ' ἂν μὴ ἔλθωσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὴν πανήγυριν ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν νύκτα τῆς θυσίης καίουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες τὰ λύχνα, καὶ οὕτω οὐκ ἐν Σαί μόνῃ καίεται ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον, Hdt. II, 62; but it is clear that these festivals were in no way akin to the Lampas of Greece.

² Hygini *Astronomicon* 2.15: Itaque caeteris remotis venit ad Iovis ignem, quo diminuto et in ferulam coniecto, laetus, ut volare, non currere videretur, ferulam iactans, ne spiritus interclusus vaporibus extingueret in angustia lumen. Praeterea totum a certatione ludorum cursoribus instituerunt ex Promethei consuetudine, ut currerent lampadem iactantes. Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1122 and Soph. *Oed. Col.* 56.

³ Aesch. *Prom.* 109 sqq.: ναυπηγοπλήρωτον δὲ θηρώμαι πυρὸς πηγὴν κλοπαίαν, ἥ διδάσκαλος τέχνης πάσης βροτοῖς πέφνηε καὶ μέγας πόρος.

the running and swinging of the reed is a fiction of comparatively late date. Hesiod knows nothing about it, and simply relates the theft of the fire and its concealment in a hollow reed.¹ But still, be this as it may, the very details of the contest, that is, a race and lighted torches, make it reasonably certain that the theft of fire and the course of Prometheus is the original idea of the Lampas.²

Still another very satisfactory reason why Prometheus should be honored by a *gymnastic festival* is given by Philostratos, who tells us that Prometheus was the originator of gymnastics in general, for, having made men of clay, he found it necessary to put them through a course of gymnastic exercise, in order that their clay bodies might become supple and be fused into a compactly united and congruent whole.³

From the cult of Titan Prometheus the Lampas soon passed over into and became a fixed factor in the festivals of the other fire-gods. Naturally it was first adopted into the cult of Hephaistos. For as the God of the forge he was the first to apply fire to metals,

¹ Hes. Opp. 48 sqq.: κρίψε δὲ πῦρ· τὸ μὲν αὖτις ἐὺς παῖς Ἰαπετοῖο ἔκλεψ' ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς πάρα μητιόεντος ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι, λαθὼν Δία τερπικέραννον, and Hes. Theog. 566 sqq.: ἀλλά μιν ἐξαπάτησεν ἐὺς παῖς Ἰαπετοῖο, κλέψας ἀκαμάτοιο πυρὸς τηλέσκοπον αὐγὴν ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι.

² It is in this character that the terms *δαδούχος* and *πυρφόρος* are applied to him, so Philostr. vit. Sophist. Teubn. ed. II, p. 104: ὑψηλὴν ἄρον, ἀνθρῶπε, τὴν δᾶδα. τί βιάζῃ καὶ κατὰ γεις κάτω καὶ βασανίζεις τὸ πῦρ; οὐράνιον ἐστίν, αἰθέριον ἐστίν, πρὸς τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἔρχεται τὸ πῦρ. οὐ κατὰ γει νεκρούς, ἀλλ' ἀνάγει θεοὺς. ἰὼ Προμηθεὺ δαδούχε καὶ πυρφόρε, οἷά σου τὸ δῶρον ὑβρίζεται· νεκροῖς ἀνασθῆτοισι ἀναμίγνυνται. ἐπάρηξον βοήθησον κλέψον, εἰ δυνατόν, κἀκεῖθεν τὸ πῦρ. This is spoken against burial by fire. It seems that Kallias, a member of the wealthy and distinguished Athenian family in which the dignity of *δαδούχος* in the Eleusinian mysteries was hereditary, had forbidden burial by fire, on the ground that the heavenly element became polluted by contact with dead bodies. Compare also Soph. Oed. Col. 56: ἐν δ' ὁ πυρφόρος θεὸς Τιτὰν Προμηθεύς.

³ Philostr. Teubn. ed. II, p. 270: . . . γένεσις δὲ αὐτῆς (viz. γυμναστικῆς) τὸ φῦναι πῶν ἀνθρώπων παλαιᾶσαι τε ἱκανὸν καὶ πικτεῦσαι καὶ δραμεῖν ὀρθόν . . . οὕτως ἡγώμεθα καὶ τὴν γυμναστικὴν ξυγγενεστάτην τε εἶναι καὶ συμφῶν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. καὶ λόγος δὲ ἄδεται τις, ὥς γυμναστικὴ μὲν οὕτω εἴη, Προμηθεύς δὲ εἴη καὶ γυμνάσαιτο μὲν ὁ Προμηθεὺς πρῶτος, . . . καὶ οἱ πλασθέντες δὲ ἐκ (πηλοῦ ὑπὸ) Προμηθεύς ἀνθρώποι οἶδε ἄρα [αὐτοῖς] εἰεν οἱ (ἐν) τῷ πηλῷ γυμνασάμενοι [ἐν ᾧ ἤσαν], (οὓς) πλάττεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Προμηθεύς ὦντο ἐπειδὴ τὰ σώματα αὐτοῖς ἡ γυμναστικὴ ἐπιτήδεια τε καὶ ξυγκείμενα ἐποίει. Here may also be added the words of Prometheus in Lucian, Prom. 13: καὶ τὸ ζημίωμα ὁρᾷς ἤλικον, εἰ ἐκ πηλοῦ ζῶα ἐποίησα καὶ τὸ τέως ἀκίνητον ἐς κίνησιν ἤγαγον.

and to teach men how to melt and mould metal at will.¹ His whole handicraft was dependent on and conditioned by an accurate knowledge of the power of fire and its influence on metals. Consequently it is easily conceivable that the devotees of the divine blacksmith should honor him by a festival so appropriate and to which he had so valid a claim. In fact nothing more is known concerning the Hephaisteia than that a torch-race was held at their celebration.²

Athene took up fire where Hephaistos left it and, carrying its use still a step further, taught men what fire could do when applied to the other useful and ornamental arts. In an ideal sense she represents the fire of heaven, the divine godlike light that illuminates all things both in the physical world and in the world of thought. She was also originally a typification of the lightning which burst forth from the thunder-clouds of her father Zeus. It was through the connivance and actual assistance of Athene that Prometheus was enabled to scale the heights of heaven; and according to some it was she who lighted the torch for him at the chariot wheel of Helios (cf. Serv. ad Verg. Eclog. VI, 42). Being thus so intimately connected with Prometheus it is not surprising to find her honored with a torch-race.

These three, Prometheus, Hephaistos, and Athene, were the fire-gods properly speaking. From their service the Lampas soon passed over into the cults of the light-gods Artemis-Bendis and Pan.

The cultus of Artemis-Bendis originated in the worship of the

¹ Harpokration s. v. λαμπάς: Ἴστρος δ' ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν Ἀτθίδων, εἰπὼν ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀπατουρίων ἑορτῇ Ἀθηναίων οἱ καλλίστας στολὰς ἐνδεδυκότες, λαβόντες ἡμμένας λαμπάδας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας, ἡμνοῦσι τὸν Ἥφαιστον θέοντες (so Valesius for MS θύοντες), ὑπόμνημα τοῦ κατανοήσαντα (so Bekker for MS κατανοήσαντος, which is due to the scribe who did not notice that τοῦ belonged to the infinitive) τὴν χρεῖαν τοῦ πυρὸς διδάξαι τοὺς ἄλλους (he taught others after he had learned himself). And similarly Photios s. v. λαμπάδος: Ἴστρος δὲ φησὶν λαμπάδα νομίσαι ποιεῖν πρῶτον Ἀθηναίους, Ἥφαιστῳ θύοντας (compare the θέοντες in the passage just cited from Harpokration. Both Photios and Suidas have θύοντας, but this is clearly a corruptela for the correct θέοντας seeing that the whole passage of Istros has been badly garbled by both Suidas and Photios), ὑπόμνημα τοῦ κατανοήσαντος τὴν χρεῖαν τοῦ πυρὸς διδάξαι τοὺς ἄλλους. And Suidas s. v. λαμπάδος in the same words.

² So Themist. de Theod. human.: φωνῆς νικώσης τῷ τάχει τὴν τῷ Ἥφαιστῳ τελουμένην λαμπαδηφορίαν. C. I. A. III, 111: Ἥφαιστια τοὺς ἐφῆβους λαμπάδα νικήσας, etc. Other passages will be cited in the sequel.

moon,¹ as did that of her brother Apollo in the worship of the sun. It is in her character of moon-goddess that a torch-race was held in her honor.²

But that the place of honor among these deities was accorded to Prometheus is clear from the Scholiast to Sophocles, who informs us that in the Academy at Athens there was an *old building* (παλαιὸν ἱδρυμα) with an altar, where Prometheus, Hephaistos, and Athene were all worshiped in common. Now near the entrance to this building there was an *old* pedestal on which

¹ Her epithet of *δίλογχος*, as some thought, was applied to her, because, being the Moon, she had two lights, her own moonlight and the reflected light of the sun; cf. Hesych. s. v. *δίλογχος*: οἱ δὲ ὅτι δύο φῶτα ἔχει, τὸ ἴδιον καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου. τὴν γὰρ σελήνην Βενδὴν καὶ Ἄρτεμιν νομίζουσιν.

² There is no lack of examples of the introduction of strange gods into Greece, especially during the Hellenistic period, when Baal of Tarsos and Jehovah of the Jews enjoyed equal honors with Zeus of Hellas. In most cases the worship of such strange gods was confined to a limited number of votaries, and their cults were tolerated at the outset simply as cults in which private persons alone were interested. But with the lapse of time the religious sentiment of the Greeks grew less exclusive, and many foreign cults were formally recognized by the state and accorded a place of honor in the long list of national fasti. As instances may be cited the cults of Bendis, Anubis, Attys, Mithras, and Men, the Moon-God of Syria, all of whom, much to the disgust of Hermes and Zeus in Lucian, were the happy possessors of statues of solid gold, very heavy and very valuable, while the rats could hold high carnival in the hollow cavities of the wooden ξόανα or chryselephantine statues of the Olympic Gods (Luc. Iup. Trag. § 8: εὐόκασιν, ὦ Ζεῦ, οἱ βαρβαρικοὶ προσδρέουσιν μόνοι· ὥς τοὺς γε Ἑλλήνας ὁρᾷς ὁποῖοί εἰσι, χαρίεντες μὲν καὶ εὐπρόσωποι καὶ κατὰ τέχνην ἐσχηματισμένοι, λίθινοι δὲ ἢ χαλκοὶ ὁμοίως ἅπαντες ἢ οἱ γε πολυτελέστατοι αὐτῶν ἐλεφάντινοι ὀλίγον ὅσον τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἀποστήλζοντες, ὥς ἐπικεχρῶσθαι καὶ ἐπηλγασθαι μόνον, τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ὑπόξυλοι καὶ οὗτοι, μὲν ἄγέλας ὅλας ἐμπολιτενομένας σκέποντες· ἡ Βενδὴ δὲ αὕτη καὶ ὁ Ἄνουβις ἐκείνοσιν καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀττις καὶ ὁ Μίθρης καὶ ὁ Μῆν ὅλοι ὀλόχρυσοι καὶ βαρεῖς καὶ πολυτίμητοι ὥς ἀληθῶς). Strabo, not to mention St. Paul, calls especial attention to the remarkable hospitality of the Athenians towards strange Gods (Strab. p. 471: Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ὥσπερ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοξενούντες διατελοῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς. πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ξενικῶν ἱερῶν παρεδέξαντο ὥστε καὶ ἐκωμωδῆθησαν· καὶ ὅη καὶ τὰ Θρησκία καὶ τὰ Φρύγια. τῶν μὲν γὰρ Βενδιόειων Πλάτων μέμνηται τῶν δὲ Φρυγίων Δημοσθένης διαβάλλων τὴν Αἰσχίνου μητέρα κ. τ. λ.). But of all these the introduction of the Thracian goddess Bendis (J. Grimm, in den Berliner Monatsberichten 1859, p. 515 ff., identifies her with Freya—Vanadis, the moon-goddess of the Northmen) is the most remarkable example of the *φιλοξενία* of the Athenians, because of the great popularity the cultus soon enjoyed. Even in very early times the Greeks and Thracians came into contact with each other in manifold ways, and according to Homer in an especial manner during the Trojan war. In later times the relations between the two peoples were of an intimate nature, nor was this intimacy confined to

Prometheus and Hephaistos were represented in bas-relief, and it is very significant for our purpose, that the precedence was given to Prometheus, by the fact that he occupied the foremost position and was represented as an old man with a sceptre in his right hand, while Hephaistos was represented as a youth and in the second position.¹

the natural intercourse between the Thracians and the Greek colonies on the Thracian sea-board, but Thracian slaves and Thracian merchants were numerous in Athens and the sea-port Peiraieus (cf. C. I. A. III 2493—2496. 3619). The *παιδαγωγός* of Alkibiades was a Thracian (Plato, Alcib. p. 122, b: σοὶ δ', ὦ Ἀλκιβιάδη, Περικλῆς ἐπέστησε παιδαγωγὸν . . . τὸν ἀχρεϊότατον ὑπὸ γήρως, Ζώπυρον τὸν Θρᾷκα); Thracian nurses were much sought after at Athens and of course it lay to some extent in their hands to form the character and give shape and direction to the religious principles and prejudices of their charges (that these nurses were remembered with pious affection by their charges in after years is evidenced by the touching tribute paid to his nurse Melitta by Hippostrates C. I. G. 808). It was quite natural for these Thracian people to bring their national manners and customs, and their national Gods with them. It was through them primarily that the Thracian goddess Artemis-Bendis took up her abode in the city of the violet crown. Bendis, so far as can now be known, is first mentioned by Kratinos in a passage preserved by Hesychios s. v. *δίλογχος* (τὴν Βενδὴν οὕτω Κρατῖνος ἐν Θράτταις ἐκάλεσεν κ. τ. λ.). The general opinion of the grammarians and the usage of such authors as mention the name of the goddess agree that it should be written Βενδῖς (so Herodian Teubn. ed. II, p. 760—761: τὰ εἰς ἱς περισπώμενα θηλυκὰ διὰ τοῦ δος κλίνεται, καὶ εἰς ῆ μόνως ἔχει τὴν αἰτιατικὴν οἷον Βενδῖς Βενδίδος Βενδῖν κ. τ. λ.). The later grammarians Laskaris (L. III, gramm. graec.) and Choïroboskos (MS. Coisl. 176 fol. 75 v.) sustain Herodian, but Theodosios p. 113, ed. Goettling, differs with them and writes Βένδῖς Βένδιδος: τῶν γὰρ εἰς ἱς ὀνομάτων ὅσα εἰς κύρια διὰ τοῦ ἰδὸς κλίνονται· τὸ μὲν Πάρις καὶ τὸ Ἀδωνίς καὶ τὸ Βένδῖς. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ Κούνοφῖς καὶ τὸ Σέφονφῖς κύρια ὀνόματα διὰ τοῦ δος κλίνονται· Πάριδος, Ἀδωνίδος, Βένδιδος, Κουνούφιδος. But here the accent may be a blunder of the copyist; Goettling takes it as such. The Bendideion (concerning the accent of the word see Bekk. Anec. Graec. p. 1343 s. v. Ἀσκληπιεῖον) was situated in Munychia, according to Xenophon Hell. 2, 4, 11: οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως εἰς τὴν Ἰπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες πρῶτον μὲν συνετάξαντο, ὥστε ἐμπλήσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἢ φέροι πρὸς τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον. According to this it was located somewhere near the present fort or church of St. Elias.

¹ Schol. Soph. Oed. Col. 56: Περὶ τοῦ τὸν Προμηθεᾶ περὶ τὴν Ἀκαδήμειαν καὶ τὸν Κολωνὸν ἰδρῦσθαι, Ἀπολλόδωρος γράφει οὕτω τῇ πρώτῃ. Συντιμᾶται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ τῇ Ἀθηνῇ, καθάπερ ὁ Ἥφαιστος· καὶ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ παλαιὸν ἱδρυμα καὶ βωμὸς ἐν τῷ θεμένει τῆς θεοῦ. Δείκνται δὲ καὶ βάσις ἀρχαία κατὰ τὴν εἰσοδόν, ἐν ἣ τοῦ τε Προμηθεὺς ἐστὶ τύπος καὶ τοῦ Ἥφαιστου. Πεποιήται δὲ (ὡς καὶ Ἀνσимаχίδης φησὶν) ὁ μὲν Προμηθεὺς πρῶτος καὶ πρεσβύτερος ἐν δεξιᾷ σκῆπτρον ἔχων, ὁ δὲ Ἥφαιστος νέος καὶ δευτέρος· καὶ βωμὸς ἀμφὸν κοινός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ βάσει ἀποτετυπω-

From this passage it is clear that the oldest Athenians considered Prometheus as the original fire-god and honored him as such not only in their fire-festivals but also in their art.¹

Pan was also honored by a torch-race because he too is a light-god; he is the shepherd of the starry flocks of heaven, and therefore the patron god of earthly shepherds; as an "ethereal fructifying principle" he is a symbol of the power of the sun-heat, the fire of heaven. It was because he is a god of eternal fire that fire was kept constantly burning in his sanctuaries.² As

μένος. Prometheus made men of clay and water; at the command of Zeus Hephaistos made Pandora, the first woman, of clay and tears. Can it be that the bas-relief on this pedestal is to be interpreted as referring to them in their common character of makers of men?

¹ In Lucian, Prometheus complains that while there are plenty of temples in honor of Zeus, Apollo, and even of Hermes, there are none in honor of him, the great benefactor of the race. In answer to the insinuation that by the creation of man he had wrought great mischief to the gods, Prometheus argues that the creation of man by him was not only not hurtful to the authority of the gods, but on the contrary, so far from making war on the gods, man had made the world prosperous and happy, had built cities, had made the earth to blossom by the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, had filled the sea with ships and the islands with inhabitants, and besides that they had everywhere instituted sacrifices and festivals and erected altars and temples in honor of the very gods who feared lest they might be dethroned by the creatures of Prometheus, while he, their maker, was left unhonored by temples (Luc. Prom. 14: . . . ἀπανταχοῦ δὲ βωμόνδς καὶ θυσίας καὶ ναοὺς καὶ πανηγύρεις· μεσταὶ δὲ Διὸς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγνυαί,

πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραί.

καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐμαντῶ μόνῳ κτῆμα τοῦτο ἐπλασάμην, ἐπλεονέκτουιν ἰσως, νυνὶ δὲ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν φέρων κατέθηκα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς· μᾶλλον δὲ Διὸς μὲν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἑρας καὶ σοῦ δέ, ὧ Ἑρμῇ, νεὼς ἰδεῖν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐστί, Προμηθεὺς δὲ οὐδαμοῦ). There was some cause, it is true, for his complaint, but still, as we have seen in connection with the altar and old building at Colonos, he was not wholly unhonored in this respect. It is doubtless to this building that Sallustius Pythagoreus refers in the argument to the Oed. Col. of Sophocles, where he mentions a ἱερὸν of Prometheus (ἐπεὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν ἱερὸν ἱππίου καὶ Προμηθεὺς). It must be noted also that one MS of the Scholiast to Sophocles ad loc. supra cit. reads παλαιὸν ἱδρυμα καὶ ναὸς ἐν τῷ τεμένει. Certainly the Panopeans had a temple and statue in honor of Prometheus (Paus. X 4, 3: πλίνθον ὠμῆς οἰκημα οὐ μέγα, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ λίθου τοῦ Πεντέλησιν ἀγαλμα, ὃν Ἀσκληπιῶν, οἱ δὲ Προμηθεῖα εἶναι φασιν). The Panopeans also preserved specimens of the earth from which Prometheus made men (Paus. X 4, 3).

² Paus. VIII, 37, 8: Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀναβήσῃ διὰ κλίμακος ἐς ἱερὸν Πανός (near Akakesion) . . . παρὰ τούτῳ τῷ Πανὶ πῦρ οὐ ποτε ἀποσβεννύμενον καίεται, and Paus. V, 15, 9: ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Πρυτανείῳ (at Olympia) παριόντων ἐς τὸ οἶκημα, ἐνθα σφίσιν ἡ ἑστία, Πανός ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ἐσόδου βωμός. ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἑστία τέφρας καὶ αὐτῇ πεποιμένη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς πῦρ ἀνὰ πᾶσάν τε ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν πάσῃ νυκτὶ ὡσαύτως καίεται.

a light-god it was possible for him to commence a love-affair with Artemis, which he inaugurated by presenting that coy maiden with half of his flocks.¹ His epithets of Φάνης in Greek and Lucidus in Latin certainly owe their origin to the fact that Pan was a light-god.²

But however just may have been Pan's claim to a place among the fire-festivals of Athens, it is certain that he was not honored with a Lampas until after the battle of Marathon. This neglect was resented by him, for when Pheidippides had come to Mt. Parthenion above Tegea Pan accosted him and upbraided the Athenians for their ungrateful neglect of him who had already been helpful to them and would continue to be in the future.³ Pan kept his word, for by his timely appearance on the scene of action at Marathon he so thoroughly frightened the Persians as to cause their utter defeat, and from that day to this a demoralized retreat has been called a *panic* in remembrance of Pan.⁴ In token of gratitude for this timely succor, and in pursuance of Pan's wish as expressed to Pheidippides, the Athenians erected a sanctuary in a grotto⁵ on the northwestern slope of the Acropolis, and instituted a yearly torch-race in his honor.⁶

¹ Verg. Georg. 3, 391: Munere sic niveo lanae, si credere dignum est, Pan deus Arcadiae captam te, Luna, fefellit in nemora alta vocans; nec tu aspernata vocantem, etc. And Probus on this passage: Pan Mercurii filius, cum Lunam concupisset, et haberet optimum pecus, poscente ea partem pecoris pro concubitu, dicitur pollicitus, et duas partes fecisse gregum, quarum alteram candidiorem, sed lanae crassioris. Lunam deceptam candore deterius pecus abduxisse, ut poeta significat.

² Indeed the Greek epithet looks something like a pun on his name, for the word φανός, a lantern or torch, is also written πανός, cf. Aesch. Ag. 280; Eur. Ion, 195. This is also directly stated by Phrynichos in Bekk. Anec. Gr. s. v. λυχνοῦχος: φανός δὲ φάκελός τινων συνδεδεμένος καὶ ἡμμένος. ὁ καὶ διὰ τοῦ π.

³ Hdt. 6, 105: περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέης ὁ Πᾶν περιπίπτει. βῶσαντα δὲ τὸ οἶνομα τοῦ Φειδιππίδew τὸν Πᾶνα Ἀθηναῖοις κελεύσαι ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι' ὃ τι ἐνωτὸ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμελείην ποιεῖνται ἐνότος ἐνόου Ἀθηναῖοις καὶ πολλὰ χη γενόμενον σφι ἤδη χρῆσιν, τὰ δ' ἐτι καὶ ἐσομένον.

⁴ Cf. the couplet of Simonides fr. 116:

τὸν τραγῶπον ἐμὲ Πᾶνα, τὸν Ἀρκάδα, τὸν κατὰ Μήδων,
τὸν μετ' Ἀθηναίων στήσατο Μιλτιάδης.

⁵ The grotto was doubtless chosen because it was a very ancient custom to worship Pan in caves and grottoes. Thus Porphyrios de antro Nympharum 20: Σπήλαια τοῖνυν καὶ ἀντρα τῶν παλαιωτάτων πρὶν καὶ ναοὺς ἐπινοῆσαι θεοῖς ἀφοσιούντων· καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ μὲν Κουρήτων Διὶ, ἐν Ἀρκადίᾳ δὲ Σελήνῃ καὶ Πανὶ Λυκείῳ.

⁶ Hdt. 6, 105: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, καταστάντων σφι εὐ ἡδὴ τῶν πρηγμάτων, πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα ἰδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει Πανὸς ἱρόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ

It seems remarkable that Helios, the sun, was not honored by a torch-race, inasmuch as he was certainly a light-god of the first magnitude. If asked for an explanation of this apparent neglect we shall have to assume with Brönsted¹ that the ruling notion in the conception of the fire and light divinities in the Attic religion was not so much external, attractive, and genial warmth, as it was the internal, germinating, vivifying, and creating principle or power of fire. Brönsted's theory is altogether plausible, but in attempting to account for this apparent neglect of Helios, still another important factor must be taken into consideration, and that is the fact that among the Greeks in general, but especially the Athenians, Helios was more a *simple personification of the sun*, than a deity who was worshiped by sacrifice and festival.²

It can be proved, according to what we have already seen, that in Athens a torch-race took place regularly at five different

ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίης θυσίῃσι ἐπετείοισι καὶ λαμπάδι ἱλάσκονται. Paus. I. 28, 4: καταβάσι δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ὑπὸ τὰ προπύλαια, πηγὴ τε ὕδατος ἐστὶ καὶ πλησίον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν σπηλαίῳ καὶ Πανός. From these words of Pausanias the grotto of Pan may easily be recognized even at the present day. (It was excavated in 1896 by the Greek Arch. Society.) Marathon was one of Pan's favorite haunts and the battle was fought, so to speak, on his private property, not far from the cave in which are the curious rocks known as Pan's goat-pasture (αἰπόλιον), because they looked and still look like a herd of goats. Cf. Paus. I. 32, 6: ὀλίγον δὲ ἂνωτέρω τοῦ πεδίου Πανός ἐστὶν ὄρος καὶ σπήλαιον θέας ἄξιον· ἐσοδος μὲν ἐς αὐτὸ στενὴ, παρελθούσι δὲ εἰσὶν οἶκοι καὶ λουτρὰ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Πανός αἰπόλιον, πέτραι τὰ πολλὰ αἰεὶν εἰκασμένοι.

¹ Reise und Untersuchungen II, 289 ff.

² Here it may be added that Brönsted in pursuance of the theory just mentioned attempts to prove that the torch-race in honor of Prometheus had an esoteric signification and symbolized the inner fire by which Prometheus put life into man. Thus Athene belonged to the fire-gods more on account of her relations to Erichthonios and Hephaistos (the Hephaistos-Erichthonios affair is supposed to symbolize the union of the heavenly ethereal light, represented by Athene, with the earthly visible fire, represented by Hephaistos), rather than on account of her recognized character of Grand Patron and Superintendent of the arts and sciences. In a similar manner the presence of the torch-race in the cult of Artemis-Bendis may be accounted for not so much from the fact that she was the Moon-Goddess as from the standpoint of her business of *Λοχεύειν*, *Εἰλεῖσθαι*, *Λυσιζῶναι*, for as a midwife she brings to light. It was for this reason that she was called *σελασφόρος*, *φωσφόρος*, *lucifera*, *lucina*. Certainly the fact that Artemis is represented in art with a torch (she is *φιλολάμπας*) in her hand has reference to this her maieutic profession. It may be noted that the moon was thought to exercise great influence on all terrestrial life; on animals and plants; on the organism of the human frame, and especially on that of the female man.

festivals of the fire- and light-gods. These festivals are the Prometheia, Hephaisteia, Panathenaia, Bendideia and festival of Pan.¹ The Lampas on horse-back at the celebration of the Bendideia at the Peiraeus is mentioned frequently enough, but the remarks of the scholiast to Plato have led to erroneous views in regard to the deity thus honored, so that some explanations are necessary. We gather from a passage of Plato that the torch-race on horse-back took place for the first time in Plato's own time; he makes Socrates say: I went down to the Peiraeus yesterday with Glaukon the son of Ariston, in order to pray to *the Goddess* and also at the same time to see in what manner they would conduct the festival, because they are celebrating it now for the first time.² Then follows a conversation in which Polemarchos tries to persuade Socrates to remain over night with him as his guest at the Peiraeus. The hard-headed Socrates, however, remains firm in his refusal of the proffered hospitality, whereupon Adeimantos adds as a further inducement: But do you not know that there is to be a torch-race on horse-back this evening in honor of *the Goddess*? On horse-back? That is new indeed! Will the horsemen carry torches and pass them to one another while they vie with each other on their horses? Yes, said Polemar-

¹ Photios s. v. λαμπάδος: τρεῖς ἄγουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι ἑορτὰς λαμπάδος· Παναθηναίους· Ἡφαιστεῖους· καὶ Προμηθεῖους. Photios s. v. λαμπάς: ἄγων Ἀθήνησι Πανὶ καὶ Προμηθεῖ ἄγόμενος. Suidas s. v. λαμπάδος: τρεῖς ἄγουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι ἑορτὰς λαμπάδος, Παναθηναίους, Ἡφαιστεῖους καὶ Προμηθεῖους. Bekker Anec. Graec. p. 277 s. v. λαμπάς καὶ λαμπάδοι: λαμπάδας ἄγουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι Παναθηναίους, Ἡφαιστεῖους, Προμηθεῖους· εἰσὶ δὲ αὐταὶ ἑορταί· λαμπαδηφόροι δὲ καλοῦνται, ὅτι τὰς λαμπάδας ἔφερον. Schol. Ar. Ran. 131: λαμπαδηδρομαίαι δὲ γίνονται τρεῖς ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ, Ἀθηνᾶς, Ἡφαίστου, Προμηθέως. Κεραμεικὸς τόπος Ἀθήνησιν ὅπου συνετέλλουν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ ἐνιαυτὸν λαμπαδοῦχον ἄγωνα. Schol. Ar. Ran. 1087: (Ἔδει γὰρ λαμπαδοῦχεῖν ἐν Ἡφαιστεῖοις καὶ Παναθηναίοις.) ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐστὶ γυμνάσιον, ἐν ᾧ ἐλαμπαδηφόρουσι οἱ γυμναζόμενοι. ὅτι τῆς λαμπάδος ἄγων Ἀθήνησιν ἦγετο, Προμήθεια, Ἡφαίστεια, Παναθήναια. Harpocration s. v. λαμπάς: Ἀνσίας ἐν τῷ κατ' Εὐφύμῳ, τρεῖς ἄγουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι ἑορτὰς λαμπάδος, Παναθηναίους καὶ Ἡφαιστεῖους καὶ Προμηθεῖους. Themistios de Theod. human.: καὶ τότε ἔγὼ μόνον ἡσθόμην φωνῆς νικώσης τῷ τάχει τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ τελουμένην λαμπαδηφορίαν, καὶ διὰ πομπικόν ἐξ ἄλλων εἰς ἄλλους, στάδιους τόσους καὶ τόσους, ὥσπερ φρυκτωρίας διαπομπικόν. Libanios Declam. XV: Μηδ' ὀράσθω τοῖνον ὁ βωμός, μέχρις ἂν θεραπεύηται Παναθηναίους μὲν Ἀθηνᾶ, Μυστηρίους δὲ Δημήτηρ, τῇ Λαμπαδί δὲ ὁ Πάν. Psellus in Physic. V, 4.

² Plato, Rep. 327, A: κατέβην χθὲς εἰς Πειραιᾶ μετὰ Γλαύκωνος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος, προσευξόμενός τε τῇ θεῷ καὶ ἅμα τὴν ἑορτὴν βουλόμενος θεάσασθαι τίνα τρόπον ποιήσουσιν, ἅτε νῦν πρῶτον ἄγοντες.

chos.¹ Now it will be noticed that in the remarks of Plato, just cited, the goddess, in whose honor the race was to be held has been named simply as *the Goddess*, and, inasmuch as the Athenians meant Athene whenever they spoke of *the Goddess*, the Scholiast to Plato, and after him most of those who have written upon the subject, understood the words of Plato as referring to Athene and the smaller Panathenaia, which he states were held at the Peiraieus,² adding that the Bendideia followed upon the smaller Panathenaia.³ But from the Republic of Plato itself it becomes clear that the torch-race in question was to take place at the festival of Artemis-Bendis and not at the smaller Panathenaia.⁴ However, even if Plato himself had left the least doubt as to which festival he had in mind, we have sufficient data to refute the Scholiast and those who follow him in referring the equestrian torch-race to the Panathenaia. Origenes, referring to the remarks of Plato just cited, states that Socrates and his companions went down to the Peiraieus to worship the goddess Artemis and to see the festival of the Bendideia.⁵ St. Athanasios gives vent to his righteous indignation at the thought that "Plato, whom the Greeks deemed so wise," should go down to the Peiraieus with Socrates to worship Artemis, a goddess made with hands.⁶ Simplicios also distinctly states that the festival of the torch-race at the Peiraieus was the Bendideia,⁷ and Proklos not only characterizes the festival as the Bendideia, but even mentions the date of its celebration.⁸

¹ Plat. Rep. 328, A: 'Αρά γε . . . οὐδ' ἴστε ὅτι λαμπὰς ἔσται πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἄφ' ἵππων τῇ θεῷ; 'Αφ' ἵππων; . . . καινόν γε τοῦτο· λαμπάδια ἔχοντες διαδώσουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἀμιλλώμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις; . . . Οὕτως, ἔφη ὁ Πολέμαρχος.

² Schol. Plat. ad loc. cit.: ἐορτὴν ἐνταῦθα τὴν τῶν μικρῶν Παναθηναίων φησὶν . . . and again: τὰ δὲ μικρὰ Παναθήναια κατὰ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἐτέλουν.

³ ἀ δὲ τοῖς Βενδιδαίοις καλουμένοις εἶπετο.

⁴ Plat. Rep. 354, A: ταῦτα δὲ σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, εἰσιτιάσθω ἐν τοῖς Βενδιδαίοις.

⁵ Orig. adv. Celsum VI, p. 277: καὶ οἱ τοιαῦτα περὶ τοῦ πρώτου ἀγαθοῦ γράφοντες (that is, Plato, or Socrates and his companions) καταβαίνουσιν εἰς Πειραιᾶ, προσευξόμενοι ὡς θεῷ τῇ 'Αρτέμιδι· καὶ ὁψόμενοι τὴν ὑπὸ Βενδιδαίων ἐπιτελουμένην πανήγυριν.

⁶ St. Athanas. contra gentes IO, fin.: καὶ τό γε θαυμαστόν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ πάννυ παρ' Ἑλλήσι σοφὸς καὶ πολλὰ καυχώμενος, ὡς περὶ θεοῦ διανοηθεὶς ὁ Πλάτων, εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ μετὰ Σωκράτους κατέρχεται, τὴν ἀνθρώπων τέχνην πλασθεῖσαν Ἀρτεμὺν προσκυνήσων.

⁷ Simplic. ad Physic. V, 4: τάχα τῆς ἐν Πειραιεὶ λαμπάδος τῆς ἐν Βενδιδαίοις μνημονεύει.

⁸ Proclus in Timaeum I, 9: δῆλοι δὲ ἐκ τούτων εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ χρόνοι τῶν διαλόγων, τῆς τε Πολιτείας καὶ τοῦ Τιμαίου, εἴπερ ἡ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Βενδιδαίοις ὑπόκειται τοῖς ἐν

The torch-races which took place on the occasion of the celebration of the Apatouria, Anthesteria, Epitaphia, and The-seia—festivals in honor of deities who had no connection with fire—were certainly of minor importance. The origin of the torch-races at these festivals is not clear, but possibly their institution was due to the great popularity which the Lampas enjoyed at the other festivals; certainly they are mentioned very infrequently. Istros in the passage preserved by Harpokration vouches for the Lampas at the Apatouria.¹ The second day of the Apatouria was devoted to the gods in general, and as we learn from this passage of Istros, the torch-race in the Apatouria was the part of the festival devoted to Hephaistos.

The Lampas at the Anthesteria rests on the authority of an inscription first published by Ludwig Ross.²

The Lampas at the Hermaia rests on the authority of an inscription published by Köhler.³

Πειραιεὶ δρωμένοις, ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐξῆς τῶν Βενδιδείων. ὅτι γὰρ τὰ ἐν Πειραιεὶ Βενδιδεία τῇ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ Θαρρηλιῶνος, ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ περὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν γράψαντες. The accuracy of the date given by Proklos is a question which cannot be entered upon here. It may be noted that Proklos (in Tim. 27) also has the following: 'Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ Ρόδιος μαρτυρεῖ τὰ μὲν ἐν Πειραιεὶ Βενδιδεία τῇ εἰκάδι τοῦ Θαρρηλιῶνος ἐπιτελεῖσθαι κ. τ. λ. In spite of all the evidence cited above it is really astonishing that Weiske (Prometheus und sein Mythenkreis p. 537, ff.) could write the following words: "Das von Plato erwähnte Fackelrennen zu Pferd gehört nicht den Bendideien, sondern ebenfalls den kleinen jährlichen Panathenäen, also nicht der Artemis-Bendis, sondern der Athena an."

¹ Harp. s. v. λαμπάς: 'Ιστρος δ' ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν Ἀτθιδίων, εἰπὼν ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀπατουριῶν ἑορτῇ Ἀθηναίων οἱ καλλίστας στολὰς ἐνδεδυκότες, λαβόντες ἡμμένας λαμπάδας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας, ὑμνοῦσι τὸν Ἥφαιστον θεόντες, ὑπόμνημα τοῦ κατανοήσαντα τὴν χρεῖαν τοῦ πυρὸς διδάξαι τοὺς ἄλλους. This point—in regard to the Apatouria—has been omitted both by Suidas and Photios, who have their information from the same source as Harpokration, namely Istros. It has been denied that this was a torch-race, from the fact that the garments of the participants, of which special mention is made, were not suited to a race. It is true that both Suidas and Photios have *θύοντας* instead of *θέοντας*, but the passage has been garbled and disfigured by them almost beyond recognition, and Valesius' correction of Harpokration, *θέοντες* for *θύοντες* (see p. 396), seems to me convincing.

² Demen, p. 55. No. 29: ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Σέξτου, κοσμητέοντος Ἐρεννίου Κορηλίου Ἀζημιέως Φλάβιου Πρόκλου γυμνασιαρχήσας τῶν Ἀνθεστηρίων τὴν λαμπάδα ἀνέθηκε κ. τ. λ. The inscription was found not far from Phyle, in the convent Παναγία τῆς Χαστιᾶς of the village Chastia.

³ In the Mittheilungen, 1883, p. 226 = C. I. A. ii. 1223: Εὐμαρείδης Εὐφάνον Εὐωνυμεὺς λαμπάδι νικήσας Ἑρμαῖα ἀγωνοθετοῦντος.

The Lampas at the Epitaphia is also based on the authority of inscriptions; that it was a race is proved by the fact that there was a victory.¹ The same is true of the torch-race at the Theseia.²

These latter are festivals of non-fire deities in which we should not expect to find a torch-race, consequently especial attention is called to the fact that the inscriptions cited as authorities were dedicated in honor of *victories won in the Lampas*. It is inconceivable how there could have been a victory without a race; and hence, whether we wish it or not, we shall have to succumb to the burden of proof and acknowledge that a *torch-race*, nothing less, was actually held at the festivals just mentioned.

Let us now turn our attention to an examination of the details of the torch-race. It is difficult to settle all the questions that arise concerning the torch-race, or even to arrive at reasonable certainty in regard to all of its details, because of the insufficiency, not to mention the disagreement, of our authorities. Still the task is not altogether hopeless.

There were two kinds of torch-race, one on horse-back, the other on foot. The race on horse-back has already been sufficiently discussed. If we examine the torch-race on foot we shall find that it was subdivided into two kinds. The first kind is vouched for by Pausanias: "In the Academy," says Pausanias, "there is an altar of Prometheus; from it towards the city a race is run with burning torches. The point of the contest is to run (swiftly) and keep the torch burning at the same time. But if the torch goes out in the hands of the first racer, he loses the victory on that account, and then the second runner may be the victor;

¹ C. I. A. III, 106: Ἀντίοχος Φαυδρίον Φλυεὺς Ἐπιτάφια λαμπάδα νεικήσας κ. τ. λ. and C. I. A. III, 108: Ἐράτων Ἐράτωνος Αἰξωνεὺς τὴν λαμπάδα τῶν ἀνδρῶν Ἐπιτάφια νικήσας ἀνέθηκεν κ. τ. λ., C. I. A. III, 110: ὁ δεῖνα Προβαλίσιος τὴν λαμπάδα τῶν ἀνδρῶν Ἐπιτάφια νικήσας κ. τ. λ., *Ephemeris* No. 4097, 8: οἱ ἐφηβοὶ ἔδραμον δὲ καὶ τὴν λαμπάδα τοῖς ἐπιταφίοις πρὸς τοὺς ξένους ἐφήβους οὓς καὶ ἐνίκων κ. τ. λ. and in C. I. A. III, 118 λαμπάδα must doubtless be restored.

² C. I. A. III, 107: Ἐράτων Ἐράτωνος Αἰξωνεὺς τὴν λαμπάδα τῶν παρεντάκτων Θῆσεια νεικήσας ἀνέθηκεν κ. τ. λ. C. I. A. III, 109: Ὁ δεῖνα Προβαλίσιος τὴν λαμπάδα τῶν παρεντάκτων Θῆσεια νικήσας κ. τ. λ.; and Φίλιστωρ (σύγγραμμα φιλολογικόν) II, p. 132: Κόνων Κόνωνος Κειριάδης εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Μιλτιάδης Ζωίλου Μαραθῶνιος χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου Θησείων ἀγωνοθέτης εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ Φαυδρίου ἀρχοντος τὴν τε πομπὴν ἐπεμψεν εὐσχήμονα καὶ τὴν θυσίαν συνετέλεσεν τῷ Θησεὶ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τῆς λαμπάδος καὶ τοῦ γυμνικοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν κ. τ. λ.

but if he too allows his torch to go out, the third racer gains the victory, and if none reach the goal with burning torch, no one gains the victory."¹ From this passage may be gathered the following. The contestants were all supplied with burning torches at the starting-point; the start was made at the same time or one at a time and the race for each one of the participants was the whole distance between the starting-point and the goal, that is, there were no intermediate relays of racers at stated intervals along the line between the starting-point and the goal, so that the contest lay solely and entirely between the original racers, the victory being decided in the manner indicated by Pausanias. There is more uncertainty in regard to the second kind of torch-race on foot, but still it is not so great but that we may hope to come to some definite conclusion in the matter. In the first kind of torch-race we have seen that the contestants for the victory were placed in a row (or rank), *κατὰ ζεύγος*. But in this second race they were placed in rank and file, so to speak, that is, both *κατὰ ζεύγος* and *κατὰ στοῖχον*. Herodotos in his description of the Persian postal messengers says in effect: Relays of horses and of men, corresponding in number to the number of days required to make the journey, are stationed at the proper intervals along the road; the first courier hands over his message to the second, the second to the third, and so forth, exactly as in the torch-race of the Greeks.² Aristotle says that the bearing of the torch in the Lampas was *successive*, and not continuous.³ Cicero, or, if you will, Cornificius, censures the frequent change of generals among the Romans

¹ Paus. I. 30. 2: 'Εν Ἀκαδημίᾳ δέ ἐστι Προμηθέως βωμός, καὶ θέουσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες καιομένας λαμπάδας. τὸ δὲ ἀγώνισμα ὁμοῦ τῷ δρόμῳ φυλάξαι τὴν δῶδα ἐτι καιομένην ἐστίν. ἀποσβεσθείσης δὲ οὐδὲν ἐτι τῆς νίκης τῷ πρώτῳ, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ μέτεστιν· εἰ δὲ μὴδὲ τούτῳ καίητο, ὁ τρίτος ἐστὶν ὁ κρατῶν· εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀποσβεσθεῖν, οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὄψω καταλείπεται ἡ νίκη.

² Hdt. 8. 98: τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐστὶ οὐδὲν ὃ τι θάσσον παραγίνεται θνητῶν ἐόν· οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξεύρηται τοῦτο. λέγουσι γὰρ ὡς ὁσέων ἂν ἡμερέων ἡ ἢ πᾶσα ὁδός, τοσούτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες διεσῶσι, κατὰ ἡμερησίην ὁδὸν ἐκάστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος τεταγμένος· τοὺς οὔτε νυφτός, οὐκ ὁμβρός, οὐ καῖμα, οὐ νύξ ἔργει μὴ οὐ κατανύσαι τὸν προκείμενον αὐτῷ δρόμον τὴν ταχίστην. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος δραμὼν παραδιδόει τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη κατ' ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον διεξέρχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατὰ περ Ἑλλήσιν ἢ λαμπαδοφορίῃ τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσι.

³ Aristot. Phys. Auscult. 5. 4: δραμῶν γὰρ ἂν τις πυρέξειεν εὐθύς, καὶ οἷον ἡ λαμπὰς ἐκ διαδοχῆς φορὰ ἐχομένη, συνεχῆς δ' οὐ.

for the reason that a wholly inexperienced general is thus made to take the place of one who has gained experience: but on the contrary in the torch-race such succession is advisable, because a fresh runner is thus enabled to continue the race with unabated energy and speed, having taken the place of one who is already tired and incompetent.¹ The author of the *λέξεις ῥητορικαὶ* says there was a race with successive delivery of the torch.² Themistios states that each racer did not pass over the whole distance between the starting-point and the goal, but only over his own individual part,³ and again the same writer makes virtually the same statement elsewhere in his writings.⁴ Lastly the Scholiast to Persius confirms in the main the authorities just cited, but it must be conceded that his meaning is by no means clear. He evidently speaks from hearsay, and really has no well-defined notion of the torch-race, and yet we can gather from him that there was a successive delivery of the torch.⁵

From these passages it is clear that there were relays of racers at stated intervals along the race-course between the starting-point and the goal, each relay corresponding in point of numbers to the original number of racers at the start, and accordingly the

¹ Cic. ad Herenn.: 4. 46: Non enim, quemadmodum in palaestra, qui taedas candentes accipit, celerior est in cursu continuo, quam ille, qui tradit, item melior imperator novus, qui accipit exercitum, quam ille, qui decedit; propterea quod defatigatus cursor integro facem, hic peritus imperator imperito exercitum tradit.

² Bekk. Anec. Gr. p. 228, II, s. v. *γυμνασίαρχοι*: οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν λαμπαδρομιῶν εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ Προμηθέως καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου καὶ τοῦ Πανός, ὅφ' ὧν οἱ ἔφηβοι ἀλειφόμενοι κατὰ διαδοχὴν τρέχοντες ἤπτον τὸν βωμόν. The Scholiast of Patmos on *γαμηλία* in Demosthenes πρὸς Εὐβουλίδην § 43 (published in Bull. Corr. Hell. i. p. 11) gives this better: καὶ οὗτοι ἤγοντο Λαμπαδοδρομίαν τὴν ἑορτὴν τῷ τε Προμηθεῖ καὶ τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ καὶ τῷ Πανὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. Οἱ ἔφηβοι, ἀλειψάμενοι παρὰ τοῦ γυμνασίου, κατὰ διαδοχὴν τρέχοντες ἤπτοντο τὸν βωμόν· καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἄψας ἐνίκα, καὶ ἡ τοῦτον φυλή.

³ Themistius ad Physic. V, 4 (in edition of Aristotle of the Prussian Academy IV, p. 402, 15): οὗ γὰρ γίνεται ἐν τῷ ἔσχατον τῶν δρόμων, ἀλλ' ἐκάστον τῶν τρεχόντων οἰκεῖόν τι τοῦ δρόμου πέρας ἐστίν.

⁴ καὶ τότε ἐγὼ μόνον ἡσθόμην φωνῆς νικώσης τῷ τάχει τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ τελουμένην λαμπαδοδρομίαν, καὶ διὰ πομπέμων ἐξ ἄλλων εἰς ἄλλους σταδίους τόσους καὶ τόσους ὥσπερ φρυκτωρίας διαπεμπομένην. Themistius de Theodosii humanitate.

⁵ Schol. Pers. ad VI, 61: Apud Athenas ludi celebrabantur, in quibus cursu juvenes certabant et qui victor primus erat, facem tollebat. Deinde sequenti se tradebat et secundus tertio; similiter omnes faciebant et sibi invicem tradebant donec currentium numerus completeretur.

final victory was not personal, that is, was not won by any single individual, but by a whole file or *στοῖχος* of individuals. It is also clear that the racers, who made the start, never reached the final goal, their sole duty being to run as rapidly as possible, and, when the relay at the next station was reached, to hand over, each to his respective comrade, the torch still lighted. The duty of the comrade thus receiving the torch was to carry it to the next station, and so on, until the final goal was reached and the victory decided in favor of one or the other file (*στοῖχος*) of racers. In this way alone could any contest be possible in this second kind of torch-race on foot. Thus the words of Aischylos, where he compares the fire-signals which brought the news of the capture of Troy to Mykenai with the torch-race, are made perfectly clear. Says Aischylos:

τοιοῖδε τοί μοι λαμπαδηφόρων νόμοι,
 ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλου διαδοχαῖς πληρούμενοι·
 νικᾷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμών.

Exactly so, the first and the last carries off the victory, that is, in plainer words, the first to reach the goal with flaming torch is at the same time the last in the file or *στοῖχος* to which he belonged. So too it was with the fire-signals, for the signal-fire which flamed down the tidings to the watchman on the roof was the first to reach the palace and was at the same time the last in the file of signal-fires. The likeness does not hold good throughout, for the fire-signals differed from the torch-race in that the torch-race was a real contest for a victory and consisted of several files, while in the fire-signals there was no contest and only one file, haste in speeding on the messenger-torch being the chief point.

This successive delivery of the torch is aptly illustrated by the metaphors of the ancients. Thus Plato likens the successive generations of men to the successive delivery of the torch in the Lampas.¹ The much-quoted words of Lucretius are to the same effect, for men hand over to each other the lamp of life as the racers do the torch in the Lampas.² Clemens Alexandrinus

¹ Plato, Laws p. 776: γεννῶντάς τε καὶ ἐκτρέφοντας παῖδας, καθάπερ λαμπάδα τὸν βίον παραδιδόντας ἄλλοις ἐξ ἄλλων.

² Lucret. II, 77: Augescunt aliae gentes, aliae minuuntur,
 Inque brevi spatio mutantur saecula animantum:
 Et quasi cursores, vitae lampada tradunt.

writes in the same spirit,¹ and Philo speaks of virtue being handed over successively from man to man like the torch in the Lampas.² Varro has a metaphor of this kind,³ as has also Statius,⁴ and lastly an anonymous writer in the Anthology has one of the lamp of life.⁵

¹ Clem. Al. 503: ἐπεσκεύασε τὴν ἀθανάσιαν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, καὶ οἶονεὶ διαμονὴν τινα παισὶ παίδων μεταλαμπαδευομένην.

² Philo 2. 175: τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς λαμπαδευομένης ἐπαλλήλους διαδοχαῖς κ. τ. λ.

³ de re rustica III: Sed Merula, Axius noster ne, dum haec audit, physica addiscat, quod de fructu nihil dixi, cursu lampada tibi trado.

⁴ Sylv. 4. 8. 50: Tuque, Actaea Ceres, cursu cui semper anhelo
Votivam taciti quassamus lampada mystae.

⁵ Anthol. Pal. Appendix, No. 148:

λαμπάδα γὰρ ζωᾷς με δραμεῖν μόνον ἤθελε δαίμων,
τὸν δὲ μακρὸν γήρως οὐκ ἐτίθει δόλιχον.

We give the following as an example of wild exegesis—to use a mild term—on the part of scholars, whose works are generally used as handy books of reference by those who seek information in regard to such points of antiquarian research as the Lampas: Schoemann Griech. Alterthümer II, p. 467–468, 3rd edition, 1873, has this: “wozu aber später auch noch ein abendlicher Wettlauf mit Fackeln (*λαμπαδοδρομία*) kam, wo nach Einbruch der Dunkelheit in der mondscheinlosen Nacht,—denn das Fest war kurz vor dem Neumonde,—eine erlesene Anzahl von Epheben von dem Altare des Eros in der Akademie, von dem sie ihre Fackeln anzündeten, in verschiedenen Abtheilungen ausliefen, *Einige mit brennenden Fackeln voran, Andere ohne Fackeln in einiger Entfernung hinter ihnen. Ward ein Fackelträger von Einem der Hinterherlaufenden eingeholt, so musste er die Fackel an diesen abgeben, der dann mit ihr weiter lief.*” This is not up to the ordinary average of Gelehrsamkeit; in fact it seems that Schoemann has subjectively evolved it from the depths of his own consciousness, and it is to be all the more deplored, because, coming from an acknowledged antiquarian authority, it was calculated to lead many astray and inform none. But the whole passage of Schoemann has been changed by Lipsius in his new edition. In illustration of how blunders on the part of scholars are handed down from handbook to handbook be it allowed to give the following from Abicht’s edition of Herodotos (ad VIII, 98). Says Abicht: “Es gab verschiedene Arten dieses Wettkampfes (be it noted, however, that he contents himself with giving a description of the torch-race as Schoemann fancied it, without mentioning the other, that is, the only real kinds of torch-race): *eine* derselben bestand darin, dass die Jünglinge in verschiedenen Abtheilungen ausliefen, einige mit brennenden Fackeln voran, während andere ohne Fackeln in einer bestimmten Entfernung folgten. Ward einer (oder mehrere) der Fackelträger von einem der nachfolgenden Abtheilung überholt so musste er diesem die Fackel übergeben, der nun seinerseits mit der brennenden Fackel das Ziel zu erreichen suchte.” We might cite numerous examples of more or less grievous blunders on the part of those who have something to say about the Lampas, but we shall content ourselves with only one more. Caylus (Recueil d’Antiquités I, 17 ff.) informs us: “si le flambeau venait à s’éteindre entre les

The festival of the Lampas was celebrated on moonless nights, if possible. The racers were ἔφηβοι¹ and generally naked, although at the Apatouria, at least, they wore the richest garments.² In pictorial representations of the torch-race, we sometimes find wreaths on the heads of all the ἔφηβοι. It is very probable that these wreaths or crowns were symbolical of the chains which Prometheus had to endure in punishment for the theft of fire, and they were therefore worn only at the celebration of the Prometheia. They were made of the λύγος, a willow-like tree which was sacred to Prometheus.³ From other pictorial representations we see that shields were sometimes worn on the left arm.⁴ At the Prometheia the torch-race started from the altar of Prometheus in the Academy,⁵ from the fire of which the

mains de celui qui s'en avait été saisi le premier, celui-ci déchu de toute espérance, donnait le flambeau à un second, qui n'ayant pas été heureux le donnait à un troisième, et ainsi de suite, jusqu' à ce qu' on eût épuisé le nombre de ceux qui se présentaient pour disputer le prix." Caylus has jumped to a conclusion on insufficient data, and indeed his acquaintance with the literature of the Lampas seems to be limited to the remarks of the Scholiast to Persius.

¹ See Bekker, *Anec. Graeca*, p. 228. 11, and the Scholiast of Patmos BCH. i. 11; both already quoted in full.

² Harp. s. v. λαμπάς: εἰπὼν ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀπατουρίων ἑορτῇ Ἀθηναίων οἱ καλλίστας στολὰς ἐνδεδυκότες, λαβόντες ἡμμένας λαμπάδας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας, ὑμνοῦσι τὸν Ἥφαιστον θεόντες κ. τ. λ.

³ In support of these statements we may cite the authority of Athenaios 15. 13; p. 672, f: δὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὸν δεδηλωμένον στέφανον τῷ Προμηθεῖ περιγενέσθαι, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τοῖς εὐεργετηθεῖσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς δωρεάν. διόπερ καὶ τοῖς Κασσι κατὰ τὸ παραπλήσιον ἔθος παρεκελεύεσθαι, στεφάνωματι χρωμένους τῇ λύγῳ καταδεῖν τὴν ἑαυτῶν κεφαλὴν τοῖς κλάδοις, οἷς αὐτοὶ κατέλαβον τὴν θεόν. And Athen. 15. 16; p. 674, d: Αἰσχύλος δ' ἐν τῷ λυομένῳ Προμηθεῖ σαφῶς φησιν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ Προμηθέως τὸν στέφανον περιτίθεμεν τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἀντίποινα τοῦ ἐκείνου δεσμοῦ, καίτοι ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Σφίγγι εἰπὼν·
τῷ δὲ ξένῳ γε στέφανον, ἀρχαῖον στέφος,
δεσμῶν ἄριστος ἐκ Προμηθέως λόγον.

Compare also Eustathios (ed. Tafel, Frankfurt a/M. 1832), p. 319, line 66 sq.: δσοις μὲν οὖν ἐπιστεφῆς φρονήσεως ἡ κεφαλῇ, κατέκρυπτον ἐπιδεικνύντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀνευδῶς ἔχοντας· καὶ ἦν τοῦτο προσκυνεῖν, καὶ τὸν εὐεργέτην Προμηθεῖ φιλεῖν.

⁴ For the pictorial representations of the torch-race cf. Tischbein II, 25; III, 48; Gerhard *Antike Bildwerke* I, 4; Krause *Hellenika* II, 2 fig. 16 and fig. 25 1; Brönsted *Reise und Untersuchungen* II, 289 ff.; Mionnet pl. 49, 6; Head *Coins of the Ancients* plate 21, nos. 7-8. Körte, *Vase mit Fackellaufdarstellung* in *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1892, p. 149-152.

⁵ Paus. I. 30. 2: Ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ δέ ἐστι Προμηθέως βωμός, καὶ θεοῦσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες καιομένας λυμπάδας.

torches were lighted. The race-course lay through the outer Kerameikos to the Dipylon, or as Pausanias says *πρὸς τὴν πόλιν*. Suidas, Hesychios, the Scholiast to Aristophanes, and the Etymologicum Magnum only make the general remark that the torch-race took place in the Kerameikos.¹ Indeed it would seem from the words of these men that they knew of the Kerameikos solely as the place where the torch-race was held, and Suidas takes especial pains to show his ignorance by stating that the Kerameikos is a high place in Attica: *τόπος τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑψηλός* (*χαμηλός* would suit the facts better). At the other torch-races the start was made, not from the altar of Prometheus, but from that of Eros in the Academy, where the torches were lighted. The race-course extended in some to the altar of Anteros inside the city, in others probably to the altar of Athene, for the flame of the victorious torch was sacred, and was used to set on fire the great sacrifice which was the closing act of the Panathenaic festival.² It is significant that at the Prometheia the race extended only to the city, that is, the fact that the work of the runners was done as soon as the threshold of the city was reached was doubtless intended as a symbol of the arrival of Prometheus at fireless human dwellings with the heavenly flame, the civilizing element. The renewal of fire became necessary because it had been polluted by the uses to which it was put by man. All fires in the city

¹ Suidas s. v. *Κεραμεικός*: *τόπος τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑψηλός, ὅπου ἐπετέλουν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατ' ἔτος λαμπαδοῦχον ἀγῶνα*. Hesychios s. v. *κεραμ.*: *ἀγὼν γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν εὐτελὴς ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ*. Schol. Ar. Ran. 131: *Κεραμεικός τόπος Ἀθήνησιν ὅπου συνετέλουν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν λαμπαδοῦχον ἀγῶνα*, and Ran. 1093: *τοῦτο δέ φησιν Εὐφρόνιος, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ ἀγῶνος τῆς λαμπάδος*. Schol. Ar. Vesp. 1203: *ὅτι γὰρ καὶ ἡγωνίζοντο δρόμῳ λαμπάδας ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ φανερόν ἐκ τῶν εἰς Βατράχους*. Etym. Mag. s. v. *κεραμ.*: *γίνονται δὲ τρεῖς λαμπαδοδρομαί ἐν Κεραμεικῷ*.

² Plut. Solon. 1, 79: *λέγεται δὲ καὶ Πεισίστρατος ἐραστὴς Χάρμον γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα τοῦ Ἔρωτος ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ καθιερώσαι, ὅπου τὸ πῦρ ἀνάπτουσιν οἱ τὴν ἱερὰν λαμπάδα διαθέοντες*. Hermias Commentar. in Plat. Phaedr. p. 78: *καὶ γὰρ παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἐφέϊτο τὸ ἐρᾶν, καὶ τοῦ Ἔρωτος βωμοὶ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἦσαν, καὶ Ἀντέρωτος . . . καὶ ὁ δρόμος ὁ μακρὸς τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ἔρωτος ἐγίνετο*. *ἐντείνθεν γὰρ ἀψάμενοι οἱ ἔφηβοι τὰς λαμπάδας ἔθεον καὶ τοῦ νικῆσαντος τῇ λαμπάδι ἢ πυρὰ τῶν τῆς θεοῦ ἱερῶν ἐφῆπτετο*. Bekker, Anec. Graec. p. 228, s. v. *γυμνασίαρχοι*: *ὑφ' ὧν (γυμνασιάρχων) οἱ ἔφηβοι ἀλειφόμενοι κατὰ διαδοχὴν τρέχοντες ἤπτον τὸν βωμόν*. Scholiast of Patmos, Bull. Corr. Hell. i. 11: *οἱ ἔφηβοι, ἀλειφόμενοι παρὰ τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου, κατὰ διαδοχὴν τρέχοντες ἤπτοντο τὸν βωμόν*. The reason for the erection of the altars of Eros and Anteros is given by Pausanias 1. 30. 1; compare also Suidas s. v. *Μέλητος*.

were extinguished before the race began and were rekindled from the renewed and pure fire which had been lighted on the altar by the torch of the victorious runner. For the importance of the renewal of fire see Plutarch, Aristides 20. Similarly the fact that the goal at the torch-races held in honor of the other fire-gods was *inside* the city walls may be taken as a symbolical intimation that men were now in possession of fire; that credit was due to these gods, not for having introduced fire, but for having applied it to the uses of men after Prometheus had brought it down to human abodes.

The length of the race-course can only be ascertained approximately, as our authorities do not agree exactly. We know, for instance, that in the Prometheia the course extended from the altar in the Academy to the Dipylon, but while the site of the Dipylon is now known accurately, that of the altar in the Academy can never be established with absolute certainty. Cicero, in speaking of an afternoon promenade which he made with some friends to the Academy, mentions that it was six stadia distant from the Dipylon.¹ Livy reckons the distance from the Dipylon to the Academy as about a Roman mile.² It must be noted that neither Cicero nor Livy intended to be accurate, but only to give an approximate idea of the distance between the two places. The Roman mile of Livy is about 4824 feet, and the six stadia of Cicero about 3636 feet, making a difference of 1189 feet, or nearly one quarter of a mile, in the two statements. But at least we shall not go far wrong if we conclude that the length of the race-course at the Prometheia was about three quarters of a mile long, and at the other festivals—at which the race extended *into* the city—probably about one mile long, or even more, as we have no means of locating either the altar and statue of Anteros or the altar of Athene.³

¹ Cic. de fin. 5, 1, 1: Constituímus inter nos ut ambulationem postmeridianam conficeremus in Academia, maxime quod is locus ab omni turba id temporis vacuus esset. Itaque ad tempus ad Pisonem. Inde vario sermone *sex illa a Dipylo stadia confecimus*.

² Liv. 31, 24: Ab Dipylo accessit. Porta ea, velut in ore urbis posita, maior aliquanto patentiorque quam ceterae est, et intra eam extraque latae viae sunt, ut et oppidani derigere aciem a foro ad portam possent, et extra limes *mille ferme passus longus*, in Academiae gymnasium ferens, . . . liberum spatium praeberet.

³ Hermias speaks of the *long race-course*; Comment. in Plat. Phaedr. p. 78: *καὶ ὁ δρόμος ὁ μακρὸς τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ἑρωτος ἐγένετο*. Certainly it is a long mile from the Dipylon to what is nowadays held to be the site of the Academy.

The torches used in the race were probably—but not certainly—of two kinds. From a verse of the Προμηθεὺς Πυρκαεὺς of Aischylos, which has been preserved by Pollux (10.64), it may be argued that pitch-torches were sometimes used. For what other explanation can be given to πίσσα κωμόλινου μακροὶ τόνοι, with which may be compared the *lucida funalia* of Horace (Carm. III, 26, 6)? The only answer that can be given to this question is that Aischylos has made use of the license usually accorded to poets, for if the substance used were *pitch*, there would be no need of *long cords*, as pitch requires no wick. It is then a question whether pitch-torches were used or not! But from vase-paintings and coins it is certain that taper-like torches of wax¹ were far more common, as indeed they were far better suited to the requirements of the race. No skill would be necessary in the case of pitch-torches, for there would be no difficulty in keeping them lighted; on the contrary rapid motion would be calculated to make them burn more readily than ever. Now it *was* difficult and it *did* require skill to keep the torches lighted, and hence we are inclined to think that the material used could never have been pitch.² These wax tapers were placed in a candlestick, whose handle was like that of a dirk or short sword; the candlestick was in most cases provided with a shield just below the socket, in order to prevent the hand from being burned by the hot drippings from the wax-torch.³

The signal for the start was given from the top of a tower in the neighborhood of the Academy and before the invention of the σάλπιγξ by the Etruscans, it consisted in dropping a lighted torch from the tower.⁴ By inference we conclude that the signal was given by the salpinx after its invention.

¹ Cf. Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung der Athener* I, p. 496 ff.

² We note, for what it is worth, that Weiske, *Prometheus und sein Mythenkreis* p. 537 ff., thinks the material used was liquid and that there was danger of its burning up too soon.

³ This dripping-pan was the shield used by the frogs in the Batrachomomachia 129: ἄσπις δ' ἦν λίχνον τὸ μεσόμφαλον. For the pictorial representations of the torch-race and the torches see the references in a previous note.

⁴ Aristoph. Ran. 129, sqq.: καθέρπυσον νυν ἐς Κεραμεικόν. Εἶτα τί; Ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον τὸν ὑψηλόν.—τί δρῶ; ἀφιεμένην τὴν λαμπάδ' ἐντεῦθεν θεῶ. κάπειτ' ἐπειδὴν φῶσιν οἱ θεώμενοι εἶναι, τόθ' εἶναι καὶ σὺ σαντόν. Ποῖ; Κάτω. The Scholiast to this passage says: ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἀφέσει τῆς λαμπάδος σημεῖον ἦν τοῖς μέλλουσι δραμεῖν, ὥς δεῖ τοῦ δρόμου κατάρξασθαι· ἦν δὲ τοῦτο πρὸ τοῦ εὐρεθῆναι παρὰ Τυρσηνοῖς τὴν σάλπιγγα.

Speed was an essential feature of the race. This may be gathered by inference from Themistios, who speaks of the sound of the voice, which was to travel faster than the racers in the Lampas,¹ and Aristophanes also gives us to understand that speed was essential, for he calls the race *νεανικώτατον* and treats us to a lively scene in which the racer who runs too slowly is beaten most unmercifully by the inhabitants of the Kerameikos.² From the words of Aristophanes we may infer that the disgrace of defeat and the honor of victory were great.

The victorious Gymnasiarch made a dedication of some sort in honor of the victory. The prize was of small money-value; sometimes it was a shield,³ sometimes a vase (hydria), as was usual in the Panathenaia.⁴

The number of racers can not be determined. Boeckh⁵ thinks that a racer or a line of racers, according to the kind of race to be held, was appointed from each Phyle. It is true that in Athens the Phylae were always rivals for agonistic and choregic honors but Boeckh does not prove his contention. It can not be denied, however, that the words of the speaker in Isaios do certainly tend to support the theory of Boeckh, a fact which

¹ Themist. de Theod. human.: *φωνῆς νικώσης τῷ τάχει τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ τελουμένην λαμπαδηφορίαν.*

² Aristoph. Vesp. 1203: *ἡ λαμπάδα | ἔδραμες, ἀνευρὼν ὃ τι νεανικώτατον.* And Aristoph. Ran. 1097 sqq.: *λαμπάδα δ' οὐδεὶς οἷός τε φέρειν ὑπ' ἀγυμνασίας ἐτι νυνί. Μὰ Δί' οὐ δῆθ', ὥστ' ἐπαφανάνθην Παναθηναίοισι γελῶν, ὅτε δὴ βραδὺς ἀνθρωπός τις ἔθει κίψας λευκός, πίων, ὑπολειπόμενος, καὶ δεινὰ ποιῶν · κῆθ' οἱ Κεραμῆς ἐν ταῖσι πύλαις παίουσ' αὐτοῦ γαστέρα, πλευράς, λαγόνας, πυγὴν · ὁ δὲ τυπτόμενος ταῖσι πλατεῖαις ὑποπερδόμενος φνῶν τὴν λαμπάδ' ἔφευγε.* And the Scholiast to this last passage says: *τοῦτο δὲ φησιν Εὐφρόνιος, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ ἀγῶνος τῆς λαμπάδος, καὶ τοὺς ὑστάτους τρέχοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγοραίων τύπτεσθαι πλατεῖαις ὑπὸ τῶν νεανίσκων χερσὶ · καὶ λέγονται αἱ τοιαῦται Κεραμεικαὶ πλῆγαι. ἐμφαίνεται δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων ὅτι παρὰ τοῖς Κεραμεικοῖς τοῦτο μάλιστα γίνεται.* And Hesychios s. v. *κεραμεικαί*: *πλατεῖαι πλῆγαι. ἀγὼν . . . ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ, ἐν ᾧ τύπτουσι πλατεῖαις χερσὶ τοὺς μὴ τρέχοντας κ. τ. λ.* Aristophanes mentions that these blows were administered *at the gates*, by which must be understood, we think, the Dipylon. The Scholiast does not seem to be clear in his own mind on this subject, as he observes: *πύλαις δὲ ταῖς εἰσόδους τοῦ ἀγῶνος* and *ταῖς εἰσόδοις τοῦ δρόμου.* But from our discussion above there can be little doubt that the Dipylon is meant.

³ C. I. G. 2360 line 31: *λαμπαδάρχῳ τῷ νικῶντι ἀσπίδα.*

⁴ Rangabé, Ant. Hell. 960, B, line 27: *λαμπαδηφόρῳ νικῶντι ὑδρία.* Here the victory was individual or personal, and hence this Hydria was given to a victor in the first kind of Lampas on foot.

⁵ *Staatshaushaltung der Athener* I, p. 496 sq., first edition.

Boeckh himself has overlooked.¹ But the strongest proof is contained in the words of the Scholiast of Patmos *ad Demos*, πρὸς Εὐβουλίδην § 43 *B. C. H.* i. 11,² also unknown to Boeckh. But we have no proof that there were ten lines of runners. We have proof, however, that at least on one occasion there were as many as fourteen relays of runners in one line, all of whom belonged to the tribe Attalis, which through them gained the victory.³ The fact that Pausanias says that if the torch of the first runner go out, the second may be the victor, and if the second fail the third can be the victor, can not be taken as an indication of the number of runners; in fact the words of Pausanias can be allowed no weight whatever in deciding the question, as they were evidently intended as a mere illustration of the rules of the game.

The Gymnasiarch was the superintendent of the Lampas. The racers had to be fed, paid, and trained at his expense. We can not enter upon a discussion of the duties of the Gymnasiarch versus Lampadarch,⁴ but we may say that it is certain that the Lampadarchy was the principal duty of the Gymnasiarch. The author of the *λέξεις ῥητορικαὶ* knows of no other duty for the Gymnasiarch,⁵ and the words of Xenophon certainly strengthen this theory;⁶ again the words of the Scholiast of Patmos, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* i. p. 11, bear upon this point.⁷

Isaios (de Philoct. haered. 60) has γεγυμνασιάρχηκε δὲ λαμπάδι and

¹ Isaios de Apollodori haereditate 36: γεγυμνασιάρχηκα γὰρ εἰς Προμήθεα τοῦδε τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ φιλοτιμίως, ὥς οἱ φυλῆται πάντες ἴσασιν.

² καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἄψας ἐνίκα, καὶ ἡ τούτου φυλῆ.

³ C. I. A. iii, 122: οἱ νεικήσαντες τὴν λαμπάδα Ἀσκληπιάδης Εὐκάρπου Ἀθμονεύς, Λάδικος Σώζοντος Σουνιεύς, Καλλίμαχος Διονυσίου, Ῥοῦφος, Ἀγάθων, Σωτᾶς, Διονύσιος, Ζώσιμος, Συναῖς, Φοῖβος, Ἀττικὸς, Ζωσιμᾶς, Σώτης.

⁴ Discussions of this question will be found: by Haase, in *Allgem. Encykl.* III, 9, p. 388; by Krause, *Hellenika*, I, p. 187 ff.; and in the *Wiener Jahrbücher* XCV p. 161. Haase tries to prove that Gymnasiarch and Lampadarch are two terms for one and the same person, Krause combats Haase's theory, and the writer in the *Wiener Jahrbücher* defends Haase's theory, and, as we think, proves the point.

⁵ Bekker *Anec. Graec.* p. 228 s. v. γυμνασιάρχαι: οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν λαμπαδοδρομῶν εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ Προμηθέως καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου καὶ τοῦ Πανός.

⁶ Xen. *de Vect.* 4, 52: οἱ τε γὰρ ταχθέντες γυμνάζεσθαι πολλὸν ἂν ἐπιμελέστερον πράττουεν τὰ ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις, τὴν τροφὴν ἀπολαμβάνοντες πλείω ἢ ἐν ταῖς λαμπάσι γυμνασιαρχοῦμενοι.

⁷ οἱ ἐφηβοί, ἀλειψάμενοι παρὰ τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου, κατὰ διαδοχὴν τρέχοντες ἤπτοντο τὸν βομόν.

de Apoll. haered. 36: γεγυμνασιάρχηκα γὰρ εἰς Προμήθεια, Andokides de Mysteriis 132 has γυμνασιάρχον Ἡφαιστείois, Lysias ἀπολ. δωροδοκ. 3 has ἐγυμνασιάρχουν εἰς Προμήθεια, Ross' inscription (Demen, p. 55) has γυμνασιάρχισας τῶν Ἀνθεστηρίων τὴν λαμπάδα. Now the Prometheia and Hephaisteia consisted simply and solely of the torch-race, and when we read that such an one was Gymnasiarch at one of these festivals we must conclude that the Gymnasiarchy is simply another name for the Lampadarchy. It is necessary to add that Pollux gives the superintendence of the Lampas to the Archon Basileus and the Epimeletai, but most probably wrongly.¹ Boeckh thinks that the race-course was lighted up at the expense of the Gymnasiarch, but this is mere hypothesis, and can not be proved from ancient writers.

The cost of the Torch-race was very considerable.² Aristotle recommends the abolishment of the choregy and the lampadarchy, on the ground that they are both costly and useless.³ The Cyclic chorus and the Pyrrhic dance were cheaper than the Lampas. An inscription mentions the victorious Gymnasiarchs in the Prometheia and Hephaisteia along with those who gain the victory with a chorus of men in the Thargelia and Dionysia.⁴ Xenophon mentions the Dionysia, Thargelia, Panathenaia, Prometheia, and Hephaisteia in the same breath.⁵ Isaios classes the gymnasiarchy for the torch-race in the same category with the trierarchy and the choregy for tragedy,⁶ and the speaker in Isaios de Apollodori haereditate boasts of his gymnasiarchy at the Prometheia.⁷ Andokides mentions the Gymnasiarchy at the Hephaisteia in the

¹ Pollux 8, 90: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μυστηρίων προσέστηκε μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἀγόνων τῶν ἐπὶ λαμπάδι, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς πατρίους θυσίας διοικεῖ.

² To the data, which have in the main been collected by Boeckh (Staats-haushaltung etc., loc. cit.) I can make but unimportant additions.

³ Aristot. Polit. V, 8, fin: βέλτιον δὲ καὶ βουλομένους κωλύειν λειτουργεῖν τὰς δαπανηρὰς μὲν μὴ χρησίμους δὲ λειτουργίας, οἷον χορηγίας καὶ λαμπαδαρχίας καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τοιαῦται.

⁵ Xen. de Rep. Athen. III, 4: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις χορηγοῖς διαδικάσαι εἰς Διονύσια καὶ Θαργήλια καὶ Παναθήναια καὶ Προμήθεια καὶ Ἡφαιστεία ὅσα ἐστὶν.

⁴ Chandler II, 6, 125.

⁶ Isaios de Philoct. haeredit. 60: οὐτοσὶ δὲ Χαιρέστρατος τηλικούτος ὢν τετρητάρχηκε, κεχορήγηκε δὲ τραγῳδοῖς, γεγυμνασιάρχηκε δὲ λαμπάδι.

⁷ Is. de Apol. haer. 36: γεγυμνασιάρχηκα γὰρ εἰς Προμήθεια τοῦδε τοῦ ἐναντιοῦ φιλοτιμῶς, ὥς οἱ φυλέται πάντες ἴσασιν.

same breath with the Architheory to the Isthmos and to Olympia.¹ Nikias and Alkibiades, who were notorious for the lavish manner in which they expended money on their liturgies, were both gymnasiarchs.² Aeneas says that the Lampas was costly,³ and finally Lysias informs us that a victorious Gymnasiarchy in the Prometheia cost twelve hundred Drachmae, which, if the relative buying quality be taken into consideration, stands for at least one thousand dollars.⁴

The Lampas was popular not only in Athens, but in many other Greek cities and colonies. At Corinth a torch-race was held in honor of Athene-Hellotis, in remembrance of the taming of Pegasos.⁵ Further at Byzantion in honor of Artemis-Bendis;⁶ at Koressia on the island of Keos, in honor probably of Athene;⁷ at Paros in honor of a deity not mentioned;⁸ at Ephesos;⁹ at Teos;¹⁰ at Naples, in honor of Parthenope, one of the Seirens;¹¹

¹ Andoc. de mysteriis 132: ἀλλὰ τοῖναντίον λητουργεῖν οὗτοι προῦβάλλοντο, πρῶτον μὲν γυμνασίαρχον Ἡφαιστείοις, ἔπειτα ἀρχιθεωρῶν εἰς Ἴσθμὸν καὶ Ὀλυμπίαν. Andokides was himself a victorious gymnasiarch, cf. de Alcibiade 42: καίτοι τυγχάνω νενικηκώς εὐανδρία καὶ λαμπάδι καὶ τραγῳδοῖς κ. τ. λ.

² Plut. Nic. et Crass. 1, 4: ἦν δὲ ταῖς δαπάναις πολιτικώτερος μὲν ὁ Νικίας ἀναθήμασι καὶ γυμνασιarchíαις καὶ διδασκαλίαις χορῶν φιλοτιμούμενος κ. τ. λ., and Isokrates περὶ τοῦ ζεύγους 14, e: περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐνθάδε χορηγιῶν καὶ γυμνασιarchíων καὶ τριηραρχίῶν αἰσχύνομαι λέγειν; spoken by Alkibiades.

³ Aeneae commentarius poliorceticus XVII, 1: ἐν δὲ μὴ ὁμονοῦση πόλει καὶ ὑπόπτως πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐχόντων χρὴ προνοοῦντα εὐλαβεῖσθαι τὰς μετ' ὁχλον ἐξόδους ἐπὶ θεωρίαν λαμπάδος καὶ ἵπποδρομίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγώνων κ. τ. λ.

⁴ Lysias ἀπολ. δωροδοκ. 3: ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατέπλευσα ἐπὶ Ἀλεξίῳ ἀρχοντος, εὐθὺς ἐγυμνασιάρχων εἰς Προμήθεια, καὶ ἐνίκων ἀναλώσας δώδεκα μνᾶς.

⁵ Schol. Pind. O. 13, 56: Ἑλλώτια δ' ἐπτάκις] ἑορτὴ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ἐν ἣ καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν τελεῖται ὁ καλούμενος λαμπαδοδρομικός, ἐν ᾧ ἔτρεχον νεανίαι.

⁶ C. I. G. 2034: Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Βενδιδάρων στεφανωθείς τῇ λαμπάδι τῶν ἀνήβων τὰ Βοσπόρια, τὸ ἄθλον Ἑρμῇ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ.

⁷ C. I. G. 2360: αἰρεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ γυμνασιάρχον ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς, μὴ νεώτερον τριάκοντα ἐτῶν· τοῦτον δὲ ποιεῖν λαμπάδα τῶν νεωτέρων τῇ ἑορτῇ καὶ τάλλα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὸ γυμνάσιον.

⁸ C. I. G. 2396: ἐπὶ ναποῦ Ἀῦρ. Χρησίμων τοῦ Μάρκον, λαμπαδαρχήσαντος Δωροθέου τοῦ Θεοτεμήτῃ, Ἀσκληπιῶς καὶ Ὑγείας.

⁹ The inscription on which this statement is based is very badly mutilated, but the word λαμπαδάρχων is certain, C. I. G. 3018.

¹⁰ Here too the inscription is mutilated, λαμπάδος, however, being certain, C. I. G. 3088.

¹¹ C. I. G. 287: νεικήσας τὴν λαμπάδα (bis), and especially Lykophron. Alex. 732 sqq.: πρώτη δὲ καὶ ποτ' αὐθι συγγόνων θεᾷ κραινὼν ἀπάσης Μόψοπος ναναρχίας πλωτήρι λαμπαδοῦχον ἐντυεῖ δρόμον, χρησμοῖς πιθήσας, and Tzetzes ad Lycophr.

at Syros, in honor of Demeter;¹ in Kerkyra;² the magnificent coins of Amphipolis, which bear a flaming torch of the kind already described, tell us distinctly of torch-races once held there.³ It will be noted that a Lampas is only claimed positively for places from which our information is direct and incontrovertible. But if Haase's limitation of the Gymnasiarchy be accepted, the list of places at which a torch-race was held may be increased almost *ad infinitum*. Lastly as an illustration of the immense popularity of the Lampas, it may be noted that Alexander the Great instituted torch-races at almost all of his festivals.⁴ From all this we may gather that the torch-race was extremely popular among the Greeks, wherever they lived, and that no other festival of the Athenians was celebrated so often. This frequency of its celebration is without doubt the reason why such an abundance of names for the festival have come down to us. The most usual name was simply *Λαμπάς* (e. g. Plat. Rep. 328, A and often elsewhere). The other names are:

ιερά λαμπάς Plut. Solon, 1. 4.

λαμπαδρομία Hdt. 6. 105; Plat. Rep. 328. A.

λαμπαδοδρομία Bekk. Anec. Graec. p. 228. II.

λαμπαδφορία Hdt. 8. 98.

λαμπάδος ἁγών Hesych. s. v. *λαμπάς*; Schol. Ar. Ran. 1087.

λαμπάδων ἁγών Eustath. Opusc. ed. Tafel, p. 237. 70.

ἁγών ἐπὶ λαμπάδι Pollux 8. 90.

θεωρία λαμπάδος Aeneae Comm. Poliorc. 17. 1.

έορτή λαμπάδος Harp. s. v. *λαμπάς*.

λαμπαδιστής ἁγών Schol. Ar. Ran. 131.

Alex. 732, sqq.: Τίμαιος ὁ Σικελικός φησι Διότιμόν τὸν Ἀθηναίων ναύαρχον θύσας τῇ Παρθενόπῃ καὶ δρόμον ποιῆσαι λαμπαδικόν, ὅνπερ λαμπαδικὸν ἁγῶνα καὶ δρόμον οἱ Νεαπολίται ἐτησίως ἐτέλουν. Compare also Statius Silv. IV, 8, 50:

Tuque, Actaea Ceres, cursu cui semper anhele

Votivam taciti quassamus lampada mystae.

¹ C. I. G. 2347: Διονυσίων τε τῷ ἁγῶνι τῶν τραγῳδῶν, καὶ Ἡρακλείων τῇ πομπῇ, καὶ Δημητρείων τῇ λανπάδι κ. τ. λ.

² Brönsted, Reise und Untersuchungen II, 289 ff. Here they wore a shield on the left arm.

³ Cf. Head, Coins of the Ancients, plate 21, nos. 7 and 8.

⁴ For instance at Soloi, Arriani An. 2. 5. 8: Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν Σόλοις θύσας τε τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ πομπεύσας αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα καὶ λαμπάδα ἐπιτελέσας κ. τ. λ.; at Tyre, Arr. An. 2. 24. 6: καὶ αἱ νῆες ξυνεπόμενυσαν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ ἁγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ λαμπάδα ἐποίησε; at Susa, Arr. An. 3. 16. 9; at Taxila, Arr. 5. 3. 6; at Nikaia, Arr. 5. 29. 2; at Karmania, Arr. 6. 28. 3; at Ekbatana, Arr. 7. 14. 1, and elsewhere.

- τὰ λαμπαδοδρόμια Bekk. Anec. Graec. p. 228 (v. l.).
 λαμπαδοῦχος ἄγων Schol. Ar. Ran. 131.
 λαμπαδοῦχος δρόμος Lycophr. Alex. 734.
 λαμπαδοδρομικὸς ἄγων Schol. Pind. Ol. 13. 56.
 λαμπαδικὸς ἄγων Timaios ap. Tzetz. ad Lyc. Alex. 734.
 λαμπαδικὸς δρόμος " " " " " "
 λαμπαδουχία Lycophr. Alex. 1197.
 λαμπάδιον Dinarch. and Plat. ap. Suid. et Phot. s. v. λαμπάδιον.

The act of running was called:

- λαμπάδα δραμεῖν Ar. Vesp. 1203.
 λαμπάδα τρέχειν Theophr. Charac. 27.
 λαμπάδα φέρειν Ar. Ran. 1087.
 λαμπάδα διαθέειν Plut. Solon, 1. 4.
 λαμπαδοδρομεῖν Schol. Ar. Vesp. 1203.
 λαμπαδίξειν Schol. Ar. Ran. 131.
 λαμπαδονχεῖν Schol. Ar. Ran. 1087.
 λαμπαδηφορεῖν Schol. Ar. Ran. 1087.

The runners themselves were called:

- λαμπαδισταί C. I. G. 242.
 λαμπαδηφόροι Aesch. Ag. 304.
 πυρσοφόροι Hesych. s. v. πυρσοφ.
 δρομείς Ar. Vesp. 1206.
 οἱ λαμπαδίζοντες Schol. Ar. Ran. 131.

To gain the victory was called:

- λαμπάδα νικᾶν C. I. G. 287.
 λαμπάδι νικᾶν Andoc. Alcib. 133.
 λαμπαδηφορίαν νικᾶν Themist. de Theod. human.

The victor was called:

- λαμπαδηφόρος Hesych. s. v. λαμπάς.

The superintendents of the festival being the gymnasiarchs the discharge of their duty was called:

- γυμνασιάρχειν λαμπάδι Isaios de Phil. haered. 60.
 γυμνασιάρχειν λαμπάδα Ross, Demen, p. 55.

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